1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

602 All interaction among Santal is in part regulated by kinship. For a traditional Santal, it is really impossible to establish a relationship of any depth except on the firm bedrock of kinship. [123] Even the queer saheb anthropologist had to be incorporated into the system and make the utmost effort to maintain properly his ramified kinship relations, including ceremonial greetings, joking, and avoidance relations.

602 While incorporation into the system is possible, as in the 609 case of an anthropologist or a member of some other caste, it is not the same as with a Santal. No outsider can attain clan membership or affiliation with a local lineage, and there remains an obvious difference between the "fictitious" kinship ties among Santal and those among Santal and outsiders. Indeed, sometimes ties between Santal involving rather close relationships, as among "fictitious" brothers, especially if they are enduring, are difficult to distinguish from relations among actual brothers. In such cases the fictitious brother, originally from some other village or region, may be incorporated into the local lineage of his "brothers," provided that he belongs to the same sub-clan as well; the Santal maintain that the rituals within the various local lineages belonging to a common sub-clan are identical, though in fact they vary considerably.

614 Thus while the clan, like the tribe, is both acephalous and non-corporate, it actively serves to maintain and structure the ties of kinship which exist among all Santal. Furthermore, as the most extended of patrilinear kin groupings, and as the ultimately exogamous unit, the clans are necessarily interdependent and thereby contribute to the numerous affinal ties binding together their constituent social units.

While it is unclear from accounts of the northern Santal just who it is that participates in the ceremonial functions assigned

2; Skreferud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

584 [605] where are no cousins (sons of father's brothers), a son of some other man will do, provided he stands in the relationship of cousin.

Now they bring a loṭa which they hand to the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother and say to her: Please, take the bridegroom round. The anointing girls take the mat in their arms, and the wife of the bridegroom's elder brother guides them, and having taken the loṭa with water she pours out a little round about. They go round three times; thereupon the anointing girls spread out the mat, and the bridegroom, his follower and the conductor of ceremonies sit down on this.

The Jog Mąńjhi then says: Please say to the bridegroom's mother that she may come. She comes; now they have oil and turmeric in a leaf-cup, and they say to the Jog Mąńjhi: Tell the bridegroom's mother that she should smear some oil and turmeric on the cheek of her son. When she has done this, the Jog Mąńjhi says to the anointing girls: Now his mother has prepared the way, please, anoint the bridegroom. They do this; and the marriage-broker says to them: Make yourselves ready, it is becoming night; come along. They are now on the point of starting.

They then ask the marriage-broker: Will you take us along the highroad or along a path? He says: I shall take us along the highroad. They take with them two rupees and a brass-necklet, further a kettle-drum and a Ram's horn[16]; drumming and blowing the horn they go on. When they reach the village, they stop at the end of the village street. The marriage-broker goes in advance to the bride's home and says to them: See, we have come, please meet us with water, and show us where you are putting us up. Now some people in the village may have an empty house[17], and they say to the Jog Mąńjhi: Do go and find out and bring us word. He finds such a place; and carrying a loṭa with water on a leaf-plate on the palm of his hand turned upwards he goes to the bridegroom's party and says to them: Come along, you of the bridegroom's party[18], I shall take us to the lodgings. Then they go there. The bridegroom's party say to the Jog Mąńjhi and the Goḍet: Please, get us firewood and leaves, two earthenware cooking pots for the rice, one earthenware small vessel, some wooden spoons and ladles, and show us where we can get water; where shall we find it when it is night? And also get us a flat basket, please, to pour the cooked rice out in. They bring them all this.

Thereupon the bridegroom's party pour out the fatigue removing beer; they give the Jog Mąńjhi and his companion and also drink themselves. The Jog Mąńjhi and his companion then say to them: Do prepare your food, and when we get ready we shall call you.

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[16] See Santal Dictionary s. v. Hindi Rāmsiṅgā. [17] I. e., where there is nothing that the presence of strangers might contaminate. [18] It might be noted that the word, here and elsewhere, translated "bridegroom's party" stands for those who represent the family and especially the village community of the bridegroom. The word (bariṭkel) is of Aryan origin, which may be of some significance.

[609] [192] [602]

3t Mukherjea O. Y-4,5 (ca. 1933-1939) 1962
AW42 Santal AW42
MAYURBHANJ

vengeance, or to gain riches. A very similar deity, requiring to be propitiated by human blood, was mentioned by Rupnarain Mañjhi of Mayurbhanj. She is a female spirit called *Ròṅkini*, residing on a hill called Panapachet in Singbhum, where in the past, she was offered human sacrifices.

The men who are employed to decoy human victims (may be of any sex or age) are called *Ondga*. And such is the fear of a Santal about these *ondgas*, that they sometimes mistake any stranger loitering in the country-side as such kidnappers; and instances are on record in the Santal Parganas of such innocent men being stoned to death by infuriated Santals.

A recorded case of human sacrifice to such deities can be seen in Mayurbhanj Law Reports (Bhima Naik vs. Mayurbhanj State, 1934-35) which refers to a case wherein certain Santals and Kols were tried on a charge of murdering a lad, "unique in the annals of crime in Mayurbhanj" as C. J. Dr. P. K. Sen, characterised it. The facts were these:—

One Bhima Mañjhi of Kalajhori, Bamanghati (Mayurbhanj), was supposed to have left a buried treasure. His son, Laso had a *jhupar* (sooth-sayer working himself under an ecstatic trance, in which he is inspired by oracular powers) with the aid of an exorcist; and a particular place was located, but nothing was really found.

4: Biswas D, E-3, 4 (1931-1949) 1956
AW42 Santal AW42
SANTAL PARGANAS

342 ventilation except a few holes high up on the wall. In front of the house the eaves of the roof are elongated which serves as a covered verandah. The floor of the house is a little raised above the ground, being filled up with earth. This is trampled down hard and made smooth with mud mixed with cowdung.

342 778 769 [609] [784] Every Santal house in which the head of the family lives has a 'Bhitar'. This is a part of a room partitioned by a low wall which runs out from the side wall some six to nine feet into the compartment. It is a kind of stall, and is sacred to the ancestors. Here food is kept for the ancestors and no stranger is permitted inside. The married daughter of the house, who in her girlhood was allowed entry is now not permitted inside, because she now belongs to another family and might cause religious pollution.

343 231 There is a separate shed for cattle. Within this shed in some houses special arrangement is made to keep pigs. In one corner of the cattle-shed two mud-walls about three feet in height are built, to form a small rectangular sty. Over it bamboo sticks and branches of trees are placed, so that pigs cannot escape by jumping. A hole is made in one of the walls and bamboo sticks are placed there in such a way that by raising these sticks the pigs can easily come out and enter. But in some villages in the Godda Damin are found the pig-sheds built outside the house. In this case the walls of about 5 feet and the roof are made of thatch.

342 252 351 [407] Inside the house on the verandah the "Dhenk"[1] (rice-husker) is fixed and a mill-stone is kept. Except during cold season, when the inside is warm, the Santals generally stay outside on the courtyard both day

[1] [Erratum: this should read "'Dhenki'". Cf. errata sheet, category 116, p. ix -- Analyst]